[CONTINUED FROM FOURTH PAGE.]

Such were the opinions which Mr. Webster then expressed, and such the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, with which he agreed. Yet he now professes to wonder that anybody can see any difference between the doctines of those speeches and resolutions, and those of his speech delivered on the 7th of March.* 6. MISSTATEMENT OF FACT, IN REGARD TO

FUGITIVE SLAVES. Mr. Webster says that, previous to writing his Newburyport letter, he made "diligent inquiry," rs of Congress from New England, to ascertain how many arrests of fugitive slaves had been made in their time; and he adds, "the result of all I can learn is this: No seizure of an al eged slave has ever been made in Maine."

Now, two such cases have happened in the State of Maine. One took place in the eastern part of the State, about 1835 or '36. The other happened at or near Thomaston, a little later. In this latter case, the fugitive came to Maine in a Thomaston vessel, whose master was afterwards demanded as a fugitive from justice. This demand gave rise to a prolonged correspondence, I with no less than three Governors of Maine. This correspondence was extensively checulated through the newspapers, or referred to by them, and it would seem hardly possible Mr. Webster should not have seen it. the Newburyport letter was published, this misnewspapers, but no retraction is made. The mis-statement is allowed to be spread over the whole country, uncorrected by its author. Mr. Websterthen adds, "No ssigure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Vermont." and, as I believe, authentic history, contradict Mr. Webster here. It is said by "members of Congress" from Vermont that an alleged fugitive was carried before Judge Harrington of Vermont in 1807, and on his being asked what evidence would satisfy him that the person was a slave, he replied, "A bill of sale from Almighty God." But even if these statements of Mr. Webster, with regard to the New England States, were all

true it would avail him nothing; for, in the eye of patriotism, it matters not where such seizures are made. I refer to this, only to show that Mr Webster is not to be relied upon in these matters, other for the accuracy of his original positions or for a retraction of them, when their error is pointed out by the public press. I wish not to be understood, on this particular point, as imputing to Mr. Webster an intentional misstatement; because he accompanied his original statement with a salvo. He confessed,—and he is entitled to the full benefit of the confession,—that his information might not be "entirely accurate," though he supposed it not to be "materially erroneous." It is materially erroneous. "Land though one error has been exposed in the Maine papers, he does not rectify it. Possibly, he does not know it. 7. FURTHER MISSTATEMENT OF FACT.

While holding Massachusetts up to reproach for "growing fervid on Pennsylvania wrongs," Mr. Webster draws succor and encouragement from the Society of Friends, and especially from the Friends of Pennsylvania. He says that they remain " of sound and disposing minds and memo-ries;" and he contrasts their wisdom and composure with the " vehement and empty declarations the wild and fantastic conduct of both men and women which have so long disturbed and so much disgraced the Commonwealth" of Massa-chusetts. He then adds, "I am misled by authority which ought not to mislead, if it be not true, that that great body approves the sentiments to which I gave utterance on the floor of the Sen-ate." I will now show that this alleged approval by the Friends, though worthy of any price but truth, was too dearly bought.

It is well known that the Friends are divided into two great denominations. Each has its Periodical, one now in its eighth, the other in its fourth year. In the numbers published since the appearance of the Newburyport letter, both these periodicals do not "approve," but repudiate and denounce the sentiments to which Mr. Webster gave utterance "on the floor of the Senate."

The Friend's Intelligencer deals at length with Mr. Webster's "sentiments," on the "Fugitive Slave Bill;" on the legislation of the North for the protection of its own citizens; on his pseudo-discoveries in "physical geography;" and on the "legal construction and effect " of the Texas tions; and it condemns them all.

The Friend's Review dissents not less positively from Mr. Webster's positions; and both call him selves, which his letter implies.

On his "sentiments" respecting fugitive slaves the " Review" observes that they have yet to learn that that part of his speech was approved by any member or professor of the society.'

John G. Whittier, Esq, speaking for the Quakers of New England, gives "a peremptory denial" to Mr. Webster's statement. I quote the following paragraph from him:

"Now, we undertake to say that there is not a member of the Society of Friends, in free or slave States, who, whether acting as a magistrate or a cittien, could carry out the pro-visions of this most atrocious bill, without rendering himself liable to immediate expulsion from a society whose character would be disgraced, and whose discipline would be violated, by such action—It has been, in times past, the misfortune of the Society of Friends to be vilided, caricatured, and mis-

Now what shall be thought of a cause that requires such a defence, or of the man that can

he has since said and written to defend it, which seem to me as unwarrantable in fact, and as rep-

ster amused himself and his Southern new-born pro-slavery admirers, on the 7th of March last, cently, as he did his old fellow-senators, Messrs. Dix of New York and Niles of Connecticut. He scored them to the living flesh, and then soothed their compulsory retirement from public life. And then he portrayed them as occupying their cally, that every one mocked at their contempti-ble plight, and at the ridiculous contrast between whom no darkness of blindness could prevent from seeing that his bitter sarcasm against the ex-Senators, though calculated to make the "unskilful laugh," must make the "judicious grieve." They could not fail to see that he, Mr. Webster himself, at that very moment was occupying pre-cisely the same pro-slavery ground, which Mesers. Dix and Niles had occupied, when they brought in Texas and "re-annexed" California and New do an act of the same character which Messrs. Dix and Niles had done;—that is, to open new ter-ritory to slavery. And doubtless the first thought which arose in many a mind was the same which mot," as he twice scornfully called the Proviso; and should he then betake himself to penitence

of the territory thereof." Those south of 3.5 deg 20 may be slave; that, or those, north of 35 deg. 30 min. sh be free; the whole, not exceeding four." Here, then, is executory and mutual contract. It is executory because it is not to be executed at the time of making, but in future of the state of the

it is not to be executed at the time of making, but in future. It is mutual; because, for Texas, and for the one or more slave States, south of 36 deg. 30 min, there are to be one or more free States, north of it.

Now, the principle is so clear that i think no one will for a moment dispute it, that when an executory and mutual contract is to be executed asy at four different times, each preceding act of execution must be such as to allow of the ultimate execution of the whole. Neither the first, second, nor third act of execution, must be so executed as to render the fourth impossible. Neither the first, second, nor third act must be so executed in favor of either of the parties, as to render the execution of the fourth, in favor of the other party, impossible. But if Texas can have "slave States to the number of four," formed in succession out her territory, then, as the whole number to be formed is not to ex-

Mr devolling

MR. MANN'S LETTERS.

The first of Mr. Mann's Letters in relation to Mr. Webster and his position has already been published in our paper. The second, addressed originally to the Boston Atlas, appears on our outside pages this week. Appended to it are copious notes by the author, which appear now for the first time. The Letter and Notes are able and

MR. BENTON'S SPEECH.

We had intended to publish this week Mr. Benton's strong and severe speech in support of his amendment to the Compromise bill, respecting the boundary of New Mexico, but must lay it

CORRESPONDENTS.

In a short time we expect to be able to yield noro space to our correspondents. We have any quantity of prose and poetry, some of it excellent, the authors of which, we are sure, will pardon us for keeping them so long in waiting. But, so deep and general is the interest excited by the Slavery debates in Congress, we should be held inexcusable did we not furnish our readers with some of the ablest of the speeches delivered.

RENEWING SUBSCRIPTIONS.

We hope each old subscriber, as his subscription closes, will remember that by sending us five dollars, he may renew his own subscription, and secure two copies of the paper besides, for

"SKETCHES OF OUR VILLAGE."

We ask attention to the series of animated. most agreeable sketches, the first of which we publish in this week's paper. They are from the pen of MARTHA RUSSELL, already a favorite with

It will be seen, by reference to our advertisenents, that persons in aimone and or ene States, having legal papers to be acknowledged, depositions taken, &c., in the city of Cincinnati, can have them attended to at the office of Birney & Peirce. We are confident that everything of the kind committed to them will be promptly attend-

CONGRESS ON TUESDAY.

In the Senate, the report of the Committee of Thirteen being under consideration, several amendments were rejected, among them, one proposing to abrogate the Mexican laws in the Territories. Some discussion arose between Messrs. Yulee and Foote, the latter vindicating himself against a charge of inconsistency brought by the

The House refused to go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and proceeded to dispose of the business on the Speak-

NEW CABINET.

D. Webster, (Mass.) Secretary of State, T. Corwin, (Ohio.) Secretary of the Treasury. J. A. Pearce, (Md.,) Secretary of the Interior. W. A. Graham, (N. C.) Secretary of the Navy-

E. Bates, (Mo.,) Secretary of War. N. K. Hall, (N. Y.,) Postmaster General. J. J. Crittenden, (Ky.,) Attorney General.

The nominations were sent to the Senate last Saturday, and confirmed the same day in Execu-

Sectionally viewed, there is nothing to complain of-the President and three of his Cabinet being from the non-slaveholding States and four from

The West has a larger share than has generally fallen to her lot-furnishing three members. Three are taken from the Senate, and this we regard as unfortunate. Members of Congress ought to be ineligible to any office, during the term for which they are chosen, and for two years there-

The Cabinet is an able one, and with a single exception, highly creditable to the President. It to the policy of General Taylor, and his maintenance of the rights of the United States against factious opposition.

But, what shall be said of the appointment o Mr. Webster to the State Department? We had hoped that Mr. Fillmore would not encumber himself with any of the tribe of politicians to which Mr. Webster belongs-and especially that he would not interpose between that gentleman and the constituency whose will he had so flations Mr. Webster goes into the Cabinet, no matter though pledged to maintain the Executive in the vindication of the rights of New Mexico, still the odium that attaches to him, in consequence of ed by his own State and the whole North, will their smarting wounds by vitriol and caustic, as be shared to some extent by the Cabinet of which

Meantime, we shall not prejudge the Administration; there are members of it who are true to Freedom and the Constitution, and we hope their which, but for their sins, never would have been exposed to it. He worked up the scene so graphirespecting the intentions of the Executive. Circumstances admit of no delay. New Mexico must be protected or abandon ed by the United pro-slavery part of the gallery and the floor responded with a shout of laughter. Yet devoted and long-tried friends of Mr. Webster were there, charge its constitutional duties, and compel subcharge its constitutional duties, and compel submission to its acts, when those acts are recognised by the Constitution? This question is in the

the consideration of the report of the Committee on Elections, against the admission of Mr. Smith as a Delegate from New Mexico and Mr. Babbitt tained, and admission refused to both gentlemen. being the only member from a slaveholding section voting for their admission. The South carand prayer, and by years of effort, strive to stay back from slavery the regions he had ried the day by the aid of its usual auxiliaries from the North, and of two or three Northern men, who, notwithstanding their general fidelity to the interests of Freedom, could not see their way clear to act with their associates on this par-

We hope the worthy Delegate from New Mex-

through the Senate. The Southern opposition to the bill is strong, and, apparently, sincere,

Last week Mr. Benton delivered a powerful speech, in which he exposed with terrible sever-

meanor towards him, we cannot but admire his boldness, his watchfulness, his readiness, his dexterity, his invincible determination, his great

mental power. In relation to the Compromise bill, it can no onger be said that its opponents are delaying action. For a long time past, they have been anxious to come to a test vote; repeatedly have they moved to lay the bill upon the table-a motion which cuts off all debate-but as often have they been prevailed upon by the entreaties of its friends, to withdraw the motion, and await further amendment and discussion. Were its friends assured of its passage, they would not hesitate to try their strength, but they evidently consider the chances against them, and desire consider the chances against them, and desire delay, in the hope that some amendment may be agreed upon, or some circumstance turn up, of 'down with the bill,' and then unitedly raise the ncouraging augury.

The truth is, it is now doubtful whether there has been at any time since the report of the bill, a real majority in favor of it-so that it is not improbable that for five months a minority of the Senate has occupied its time with a measure, which, could a direct vote have been taken at any moment, might have been lost.

MR. WEBSTER ONCE MORE.

Mr. Webster made another effort last week in the Senate to sustain himself and save the Compromise bill, whose prospects, like those of his own, had become anything but flattering. The opponents of the measure, confident in their strength, desired to lay it upon the table, and a motion to that effect was made by Mr. Hale-The friends of the bill alarmed, earnestly appealed to Mr. Hale to withdraw his motion, Mr. Webster at the same time signifying his desire to address the Senate in relation to it. Grace was extended to them, and the next day (Wednesday) Mr. Webster made a strong appeal in behalf of the bill. We have no room for his speech, nor is it necessary to republish it, as in the main it is a reproduction of the leading ideas of his great speech delivered in the early part of the discus-

He assumed that the policy recommended by the late President and that embodied in the Compromise bill were not opposite or antagonistic to each other; but he did not prove his position. How could he? The former policy contemplates the admission of California alone, not making it depend upon any other measure. The latter connects the question of her admission with, and makes it dependent upon, other questions. The former, by abstaining from any effort to establish Territorial Governments, seeks to avoid the controversy concerning Slavery, to maine the Wilmot Proviso, and would demand no sacrifice of opinion on the part of the North or South. The latter boldly meets the controversy, decides it in favor of the South, by sacrificing the Wilmot Proviso in the establishment of Territorial Governments without it. The former virtually affirms, what the latter denies, the expediency of admitting New Mexico as a State, so soon as her Representatives and Senators can reach here. The former contemplates the settlement of the question of boundary betweeen Texas and New Mexico by the Supreme Court ; the latter, by an act of Congress paying Texas some ten millions of dollars for her

On every point, whether it respects California, New Mexico, or the Texas boundary question, and Mr. Webster, in supporting the Compromise of Mr. Clay, opposes the plan of General Taylor.

arate bills, except that, us a matter of expediency, it has been my opinion from the beginning that it would That was a matter of judgment upon the expediency of the case. I was of this Committee of Thirteen. Circumstances called me to my own home. It seemed to be the general opinion of the Committee at that time, I thought, that it would be better to admit California, and then take up

the other measures." Why did not the Committee adhere to that opinion? What were the reasons that induced them to change their policy? At all events, we have the unqualified declaration of Mr. Webster and avowal, soon after, in favor of the expediency of supporting the bill which conglomerates

"If we admit California, my honorable friend from Illinois will then bring in a bill for Terri-torial Governments for New Mexico and Utah. We must open our eyes to the state of opinion in the two Houses, respectively, and endeavor to foresee what would be the effect of such a bill. we know it could not pass this House; if it be a bill without the principle of exclusion, we know what difficulties it would encounter elsewhere; so that we very little relieve ourselves from the em barrassing circumstances of the condition in which we are by taking up California and acting upon it alone. I am, therefore, sir, decidedly-de-cidedly in favor of passing the bill in the form in

That is, it is his opinion that it would have been better to take up the admission of California alone, and then proceed with the other measures, one at a time-and yet, it is his opinion that by pursuing this course, we should "very so that he is "decidedly-decidedly in favor" of acting upon all the measures together, not sepa-Without comment on this apparent confusion

of ideas, we may ask, why is not Mr. Webster the manly, reasonable, ordinary mode of legislation; that of acting and deciding upon each great measure, by itself, in reference to its own merits? Why has he not from the beginning conformed his course of action to what he declares has been his opinion from the beginning-that it would tions in one bill? In vain we look in this speech, or in any that he has delivered, for reasons to as a Delegate from Utah. The report was sus- justify or even explain this contradiction between his policy and his opinion.

Some time since, Mr. Foote, denouncing with severe indignation the action of the People of New Mexico, in the organization of a State Gov-Webster, had announced their unwillingness to vote for the admission of the new State. Those gentlemen heard, but did not contradict him. If such was the determination of Mr. Webster then, he has changed his mind; for in his speech last Wednesday, he made the following avowal:

We hope the worthy Delegate from New Mexico will be able in time to take his place as a representative of the State of New Mexico.

In the Senate, the chances of the Compromise bill appear to decrease every day. From the time it was first introduced until last Friday, we were under the impression that it would pass that body, and be lost in the House. Since then, we have doubted whether it could work its way through the Senate. The Southern opposition of New Mexico as a State. Such a measure is dead. Then there must be a recort to some other measure; and I am disposed to say, and well say, that in case of the failure of this bill I shall be in favor of a bill which will provide for three things, namely, the admission of California with its present Considuation and boundaries, the settlement of the Texas boundary, and the admission of New Mexico as a State. Such a measure will tend to a full and final termination of the controversies which now agitate us, and relieve the country from

We hope he may have an opportunity of voting for such a bill; but, why, believing as he peech, in which he exposed with terrible severenting set of execution must be such as to allow of the secution and be such as to allow of the secution and be such as to allow of the secution and be such as to allow of the secution and be such as to allow of the secution of the whole. Neither the first, second, nor third set must be an executed as to reach the fourth impossible. Neither the first, second, nor third set must be an executed as to reach the second content that the se says he does, that it would have been better to

"There are those—I do not speak of course of members of Congress, and I desire to be understood as making no allusions whatever, in what I may say, to members of this House or the other—but there are those in the country who say, on the part of the South, 'by this bill the South gives up everything to the North, and we will fight it to the last,' and there are those on the part of the North, who say, this bill gives up "There are those-I do not speak of course of ert of the North who say, 'this bill gives up erything to the South, and we will fight it to the last,' and really, sir, strange as it may seem, it disposition to make battle upon this bill by persons who never agreed on anything before un-der the light of heaven, has created a sort of fellowship and good feeling among them. [Laughter.] One says, 'give me your hand, you are a good fellow; [renewed laughter.] you mean to go against this bill to the death, because it gives up the rights of the South; I mean to go against the

This is amusing, but it does not prove anything, reept that a Compromise which satisfies the demands of no principles, must always encounter opposition from the friends of principle. Besides, the argument, with whatever force it may have applies to the supporters of the bill. Never was a measure sustained on more opposite grounds, by men of more incongruous opinions. It covers the Wilmot Proviso with infamy; says one: it abolishes the Mexican laws prohibiting slavery, it opens the way for its introduction into the Territories. Under it, says another, the Wilmot Proviso is rendered unnecessary, for all that measure aimed at is secured in another way; the Mexican laws will continue in force, and Slavery cannot go into the Territories. The laws of physical geography expressly forbid it, says the former; they allow it, insist the latter. And what can equal the "good fellowship" which prevails among the supporters of the bill, some of whom have never agreed on anything before under the light of eaven? Daniel Webster holds sweet commu nion with Foote, and Henry Clay is found in loving embrace with Lewis Cass. Conservatism and Progress meet together; Protection and Free Trade kiss each other. Most happily has Mr-Hale, la sur. ... 's more in mer' - where ridiculed this beautiful conjunction of contradic-

Mr. Webster attempts to show the North that she will gain much that is substantial, and lose nothing of importance, should the bill pass. She gains, he says, the admission of California as a free State; the quieting of New Mexico, and the Texas boundary question; and the restoration of the Government to the exercise of its ordinary functions. What does all this amount to? California is already a free State, but not by the action of this bill; and if she is admitted she would be admitted on principles, as loudly professed in one section of the country as the other. The new State is added to the Union, not to the North; and her admission is a matter of right, not of fa-

As to the quieting of the New Mexican Question and the Texas boundary, that is quite as important to the South as to the North. The latter has no peculiar interest in it; and at all events, if it be a gain to the North, it is a gain purchased at the cost of ten millions of dollars, paid for a fraudulent claim, and at the cost too of a great measure of policy, sacred and all important in the judgment of the North.

Mr. Webster considers that there is no value ously styles it, and yet this, he says, is all the North loses by the bill.

what is the value of that sacrifice? What is the value of it is a reasonable man's estimate? The value of it depends upon its necessity. If in any reasonable man's judgment, the necessity of the parent, why then there is value in it to those who hold that the further extension of slavery is ply it, or declining to apply it. That is Mr. Webster presents no new considerations it

support of his assumption that the Wilmot Provise is unnecessary; so that it is likely Massachusetts will continue unconvinced, retaining her faith in the necessity of positive law in favor of Freedom. She will remember that Slavery has never been abolished in this country, or limited, without the enactment of positive lawthat it has always gone, where it has not been prohibited; that there is no latitude, no climate, no soil, in which it has not prevailed. She will remember that the great question in controversy when acquisitions from Mexico were first meditated, has been this very "Wilmot," which Mr. Webster claimed as his own offspring two years ago, but now repudiates. If the North sacrifiice this measure now, she sacrifices all that the fact that the slaveholding supporters of the Compromise urge as one great reason in its behalf, that its passage will secure to them the privilege of testing the adaptation of slave labor to productive pursuits in the Territories. That is not all-North can be compelled to give up its policy of Slavery Restriction, and where is our security against the spirit of slavery-spoliation and propagandism? If the Slaveholders can prevent the aptheir further aggressions on Mexico; or their sinister designs upon Cuba and Hayti? Let the North stand firm, yielding assent to no measure, which, like the Compromise bill, permits Slavery to find its way into the Territories, and it will be long before slaveholding politicians will plunge Let them see that every foot of soil acquired from Mexico is to be consecrated to Freedom, and they will cease to regard with a longing eye, the possessions of their neighbors: the Wilmot Provise will prove the most effective antidote to the spirit Some Northern Senators would be glad to

are restrained by instructions. The People and Legislatures of their respective States have announced their will, and it is imperative. Mr. Webster does not like this. Having violated ernment, claimed that Messrs. Clay, Cass, and his obligations to his constituents, he would have other Senators do likewise. He has thought proper to disregard the wishes of his State, repeatedly expressed by both branches of its Legislature; he is anxious that his example should be followed. A portion of the speech was devoted to an attack upon the doctrine that Representatives and Senators are bound by the will of their constituents, fairly expressed. Says Mr. Web-

"It has become, sir, an object of considerable importance to the history of this Government to inquire how far instructions given, ex parte, and under one state of circumstances, are to govern cumstances, and not ex parte, but upon a hearing of the whole matter. The proposition that a member of this Government, in giving a vote to bind all the country, in to take as his instructions the will of a small part of the country, whether in his own State or elsewhere, is one that is above or below all argument.

he did not come there as an impartial man, to judge of the great interests of a great country in the questions before him—he came there pledged and trammeled down; he had given up his rights and pledged his vote; he did not stand there on an equality, therefore, with the other members, who come there independent and untrammeled, and bound to exercise their individual judgment. and bound to exercise their individual position.

And they expelled him on that very ground, or rather rejected him. And whoever wishes to see one of the most beautiful disquisitions on political morals and the duty of those who represent the people that I know of, since the time of Burke's speech at Bristol, will be gratified by reading Guizot's speech on that occasion. At any rate, coming there under pledges to give his vote for them, though against the majority, they held him not to be worthy to be a representative of France, and to act on questions in which the whole kingdom was concerned."

It will be observed that this is an attack, not only upon the doctrine of legislative instructions, but upon the very principle of representation, For, if legislators are to enact what laws they in their judgment may deem best, without any refrence to the views of those who elected them, of rule, and not the People: representative government in fact ceases. We take it, that in this country, Government is of, and for, the people The principle of self-government is recognised and ought to be secured by the Federal and State Conitutions: the assumption is, that the people understand their own interests, and the means necesary to promote them. Representatives are chosen o carry out, not to defeat these measures. The cople of New York having made up their minds pon one line of policy, it is an audacious assumpion that Daniel S. Dickinson has the right, as one of her Senators, to thwart their purposes When he does so, he abuses his trust, he usurps nower, he attempts to subjugate three million of ople to his individual will. Important questions are agitated during a po

tical canvass. Parties are arrayed against each other upon them. The majority of the People elect a candidate, on the ground that he is prepared o advocate and vote for certain measures for the ettlement of those questions. That he is bound to execute in these respects the will of those who elected him, we hold to be above all argument. Where they have indicated only the objects to be omprished, Madus specifying with learly left to his own discretion in the choice of the latter; and where new questions arise during the term for which he was elected, he is of course to decide for himself what policy ought to be purued in relation to them, as no way is provided by which he can ascertain the will of his constituents concerning them. But, where the People of the District, who elected him, did so because they believed that he would support with all his ability certain great principles and measures, he is guilty of disloyalty, bad faith, practical false hood, if he array himself against them, Guizot and Burke and the French Chamber of Deputies to the contrary notwithstanding. Of course, no honest man will assume representative obligations, unless fully persuaded of the rectitude of the measures he binds himself to execute. It speaks little for Mr. Webster's argument against the representative principle, that he is obliged to borrow his illustrations from the old, corrupt institutions of European countries. They will not mmend it in the eyes of American citizens. Now as to Legislative instructions, binding spe-

cially upon Senators: we know not on what sound principle their obligatory force can be contested. but being chosen by the State Legislature, they must be held responsible to the Legislature, or Legislature, representing the principles and polheard in the Senate of the United States. Are they not bound to carry out the measures to supget rid of the responsibility? If they oppose these measures, they violate the representative principle, and defraud the People of the State of

ereignty. It will not do to assume that the People have judged the questions upon an ex parts hearing the fair presumption is, that they have examined them on all sides, weighed opposing arguments

their right: they are rebels against their sov-

and decided deliberately and intelligently. But, it sometimes happens that subjects of great importance arise during a Senator's term, which were not canvassed pending his election. Nobody disputes that, in the absence of instructions here, he might judge for himself. But, suppose the Legislature of his State take these sub jects into consideration, and after due delibera tion come to the conclusion that they should be disposed of in a certain manner. What then is the duty of a Senator? We will not say the obligation to obey instructions in this case is a perfect one, as in the former case-but, still it is an obligation. He is not elected by the People; the members of the Legislature are, and it is be presumed that, being elected while these subjects are under examination by the People, they em-body the predominant sentiment. If the Senator that they misrepresent the People of his State. we will not say that he may not defer obedience to them till time has been given for reconsiders tion, in full view of all the facts of the subject their resolves, it seems to us that the only question, is, shall the People, or one man govern? This is easily decided. He is the agent, not the principal: it is his duty to carry out the views of his principal, or, if these conflict with his own views of duty, to resign.

The Legislature of Illinois, at its session before the last, passed resolutions instructing the Senstors from Illinois to vote for the Wilmot Proviso in the establishment of Territorial Governments One of her Senators being under the impression such a course at the last session, but the Legislature was not convinced-it maintained its ground. proper recognition of the right of the People to have their views embodied in the legislation of the country, feel themselves bound to vote as the

The Legislature of Massachusetts, from yea to year, has passed resolutions in favor of the restriction of Slavery by positive enactment This year it has done the same, seeing nothing in the change of circumstances mentioned by some statesmen, or in the arguments of Mr. Web ster, to convince it that its ground was untenable. It cannot be charged with hasty action-with an ex parte examination-with being biased by colof daily intercourse. In view of all these facts, shall it be said that their views shall be disre garded by one man, who is not in the habit of mixing with the People, and whose official exister, nothing, and that man, the creature of their will, their agent for certain purposes, everything? Did they, when they elected him to be one of

to the very "platform" on which Messrs. Dix and Niles stood when he laughed at them.

July 8, 1850.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JULY 25, 1850.

The particles as we may with Mr. Clay, indignant as we often feel at his ingenuity in mismeanor towards him, we cannot but admire his meanor towards him, we cannot but admire his meanor towards him, we cannot but admire his meanor towards him, we cannot but admire his mismed to the country, and made to the country, and made the most fervent appeals to the moderate men of safer and more honorable to be found in the combant that it is safer and more honorable to be found in the combant that of John Davis and R. S. Baldwin.

Mr. Webster commented with more humor than wisdom on the incongruous nature of the opposition to the bill:

"There are those—I do not speak of course of the Chamber to take his seat. But ah, it was said, not so fast! Objection was made ah, it was said, not so fast! Objection was made ah, it was said he did not come there as a fair man; the did not come there as a fair man; the did not come there as a fair man; the did not come there as a fair man; the did not come there as a fair man; the clay are in the habit reason, we suppose, is, that they are in the habit reason, we suppose, is, that they are in the habit reason, we suppose, is, that they are in the habit reason, we suppose, is, that they are in the habit reason. of regarding the question of Slavery primarily as one of political power.

For ourselves, while we desire always to deal plainly and thoroughly with the subject, we would not discuss it in a sectional spirit. Towards the South, as a part of our common country, we cherish national feelings. Her Peo ple are American; her institutions (excepting slavery) are American; she has contributed her full proportion of the illustrious men of the nation; she has displayed on many occasions a jealousy of its renown, a devotion to its interests unsurpassed in any other section. Not a word would we say to inflame prejudice against any State of the Union. We would rather do all in our power to bring the States into a closer Union-to make them understand one another better-to correct misrepresentation-to allay prejudices-to direct attention to whatever of good each contains-to do honor without partiality to the distinguished men of the whole. Especially, while freely discussing and condemning what value is the right of representation? They an institution of any section, would we be at pains to show that it is against a Principle, not a People, that our hostility is directed. Still, no promptings of a liberal spirit should

lead us to overlook or suppress the Truth. We would not, like Daniel Webster and Trums Smith, try to shift the responsibility of the war against Mexico, from the Slave Power, to the Democratic party. However criminal the cooperation of the Northern section of that party, and however inexcusable the acquiescen-Northern Whigs in the prosecution of that war it is a violation of the truth of history to suppress the fact, that slaveholders, acting from me tives having special regard to their own section. were its originators. Nor is Mr. Webster jus or truthful, in holding the North equally censurable with the South, for the hostile demon stration on Cuba. Can he be ignorant that the social condition of that island is regarded with peculiar interest by slaveholders-that the Slavery-Extensionists of the South secretly, but ar- country. dently, long for its annexation to this countrythat the measure is constantly advocated by the Pedal Sairiots on the ground specially canwould give increased security to the slave system of Cuba that the revolutionary movements the dramatic pieces and lytics of this requarkable poet. The poetry of Browning must be studied before we can do justice to it. Few take to it against it, have received their chief sanction and support in the South, meeting with no favor in the North, beyond a small class of foreigners kindly at the first, or like it altogether at the chiefly in the cities of New York and Philadelphia? It is wrong and pernicious to attempt to relieve the real actors in these piratical move-

nents from the responsibility that justly belongs We have glanced at some of the principal oints in Mr. Webster's speech. That it has added to his reputation as a statesman, or that it has increased the strength of his position, that has made or will make a single convert to the Compromise bill, we suppose nobody believes. It is cold in spirit, poor in thought, when we consider the affluence of the great intellect from which it emanated; vigorous only in style. Mr. Webster is in a false position; and his intellect has too clear a perception of Truth, is too strong. ly bound by the law of a severe logic, to put forth its mightiest energies in the work of making the worse appear the better reason.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW

izing the form of a State Government. In its

o the Constitution of the United States.

Article 2d makes the usual distribution of the powers of Government into three depart-

Article 3d defines the Legislative Power, and the mode of its creation. A Senate and House of not to be less than twenty-one years of age, and Senators not less than twenty-five. Article 4th provides for an Executive, consist-

Article 5th vests the Judicial power in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as

the Legislature may from time to time institute-Judges of the Sepreme Court to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of both Houses of the Legislature in joint ballot. Article 6th provides for the organization of the militia of the State between the ages of eighteen

Article 7th makes it imperative on the Legislature to establish, at as early a day as practicable, Free Schools throughout the State, and to set apart one-twelfth of the annual revenue derived from taxation, as a perpetual fund for their

Article 8th defines the qualifications of voters Male citizens over twenty-one (Africans and the descendants of Africans and uncivilized Indians excepted) are considered voters.

Article 9th contains general provisions, the following of which are of the most importance: "S. The Legislature shall have power to lay an income tax, to tax all persons pursuing any trade, occupation, or profession; provided, that the term occupation shall not be construed to apply to pursuits either agricultural or mechanical. Corporations shall not be created in this State by special laws, except for municipal purposes; but the Legislature may provide, by general laws, for the organization of all other corporations, as hereinafter provided.

inafter provided.

"9. The Legislature shall not have power to

or special law, any bank or banking privilege, or power, or any institution or corporation having any banking privilege or power whatever, except as provided in the section following.

"10. The Legislature may submit to the voters of any general election the question of bank or no bank, and if, at any such election, a number of votes equal to a majority of all the votes cast at such election, on that question, shall be in favor of banks, then the Legislature shall have power to pass a general banking law, with such restrictions and under such regulations as they may deem expedient for the safety of the bill-holders.

"11. The credit of the State shall never be loaned for the benefit of any individual, corporation, or association. "12. No divorce from the bonds of matrimony

shall ever be granted, except by special act the Legislature." A schedule is appended, providing against inconveniences that may attend the transition from a Territorial to a State Government.

The Constitution goes out with the following

TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW MEXICO.

We, the delegates of the people of New Mexico, in Convention assembled, have now the honor to submit, for the consideration of the people, that Constitution which appears to us best for the moral, social, and political welfare and well-being of the country.

The friends of New Mexico have long desired and ardently sought a stable, uniform, equal, and just system of laws, and administration of justice; and the means we have taken to effect these objects are, in our opinion, the most judicious that the present condition and circumstances of the country admit of adopting.

subject, we have steadily endeavored to keep in view the real interests of New Mexico, in which are deeply involved our present sovereign and independent existence as a State, our future prosperity, and public and domestic felicity. These high considerations, profoundly impressed on our minds, induced each member of the Convention to be less adherics to his own views of miner points. be less adhesive to his own views of minor points be less adhesive to his own views of minor points than might have been otherwise anticipated; and hence this Constitution is the offspring of a condial amity, and of that mutual deference and happy spirit of concession which the peculiarities of our situations rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full approbation of every citizen is scarcely to be looked for; but that it is liable to as few objections as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe. That it may prove a lasting benefit to the people, and secure their freedom and tranquillity, is our meet

cure their freedom and tranquillity, is our most ardent prayer. James H. Quinn, President. Franc'o Ortiz y Delgado Murray F. Tuley Joab Houghton Charles Overman T. S. J. Johnson José Manuel Gallegos Ceran St. Vrain Antonio José Otero

George Gold José Pablo Gallegos José Maria Martinez José Ant'o Mansanares Levi J. Keithly Juan Perea ROBERT CARY Y DONACIANO VIGIL, Secretary We have reserved to the last the provision prohibiting slavery. It constitutes the first sec tion of the first article, and is as follows :

"Sec. 1. All men being born equally free and ndependent, and having certain natural, inheritand, and inalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending of life and liberty the acquirement, possession, and protection of property, and the pursuit of and attainment of happiness; therefore, no male person shall be held by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice, after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years; nor female in like manner, af-ter she arrives at the age of eighteen years, unless they be bound by their own consent, after they arrive at such age, or are bound by law for

It is to be regretted that this provision is not nore explicit. It excludes African slavery, as existing in this country, but does it not tolerate peonage? It certainly allows any person, white or black, to become "a servant, slave, or an apprentice," after he is twenty-one, " by his own consent." Still, it is not to be supposed that any person in his right mind will voluntarily convert himself into a slave. As to peanage, we do not believe it can long withstand in any event the influence of any considerable infusion of the Anglo-American element into the population of that

BROWNING'S POEMS." Paid we suppose, to be a reprint of an English

dition; it is in two volumes, and comprises all

last. The inspiration is not to be questioned but the revelation is often unsatisfactory. The poet's richest and most origin il thought has often an involved, a mystical, and an imperfect expression. One who would receive the high imagin! ings and divinations of genius by some direct and easy process, and through a clear and pleasant medium, would be perplexed and half-angered by this poet at the first reading, at least. There is often about his poetry a dimness and a density which result from the depth of his thought and the affluence of his fancy. " Paracelsus," for instance, is unreadable to the mass; but the enthusiastic student receives it almost as a new revels tion of poetry. Yet it is not a poem proper neither is it a regular drama; but a "long, winding, subtle, sweet, and varied talk." It is full of grand conceptions, exquisite fancies—sometimes only given in luminous hints, startling intimations, and sometimes diffused and elaborated almost to weakness and folly. Now comes a stranger thought of giant proportions, almost undraped by a new and gorgeous dress. Who can doubt but that this poem, peculiar, and in many passages powerful as it is, would be greatly bettered if compressed into half its present compass. While one poet spreads his poetry over so wide an exable or unclear, we think it will remain a luxury for the few. This is an age of preoccupation and hurry; and not many of us can stay to study out an unknown tongue, or turn aside from direct and pleasant paths to explore wild forests, of however magnificent growth, into which open no clear and inviting vistas. "Paracelsus," and indeed, most of the poetry of Browning, is to be studied, as we have said; and slas! the many do not study, thus this poet can hardly be to them priest, or interpreter. The " Blot in the 'Scutchcon," and some of the "Dramatic Lyrics," are exing of a Governor and Lieutenant Governor, to ceptions to these remarks. We see nothing in the way of their universal popularity. They have power, tenderness, melody, sufficient condensation and directness—have a wonderful fidel

> make extracts from some of our favorites in these the richest of authors in striking and quotable passages. Sometimes, amid his most unformed and mystical language, comes a happy, lucid expres-sion, a bright rift, a sudden revealing of heaven through clouds and shadows-verbal felicities pleasant surprises of humor, delicious turns of which would summon smiles to the sternest lip or from the coldest and most philosophical heart roll away the stone which shuts down the fountain of tears. On the whole, Browning is a poet whom all readers of poetry should know, and the rule, as regards a poet of his original genius and peculiar style. One must cultivate a liking for him, as we cultivate a taste for olives and tomatoes. Few, we repeat, take to him with a ward and the pleasure are certain, we think We must not forget to commend the great nest-

ity to nature, and are informed with a fine poeti-

cal philosophy. "Paracelsus" and the like la-

bored poems seem emanations alone from the

large, unwieldy, if such a term may be used, intel-

lectuality of the poet; but in the sweet and

his warm human heart-so sympathetic, strong

We regret that our limits will not allow us to

and wise in affection and Christ-like charity.

ness with which this work has been brought out by those most admirable and liberal publishers by any American house. It comprises more works of a high character, from the best authors of our time, than any we remember to have seen to be especially the publishers and the favorites of poets, who have the taste and judgment to perceive that their sweetest verse will read the sweeter in clear type, with marginal settings

Among the forthcoming works announced in their catalogue, our readers will be delighted to learn, is the following: " The Poetical Writings of Grace Greenwood-nearly ready, with a fine portrait

Few of our literary writers have written so delightfully or to so much purpose. * Pones By Robert Brownine. Boston: Tickner Reed, & Fields. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington

BUROPRAN INTELLIGENCE.

The following is the telegraph account of the latest news from Liverpool, (being to the 6th inst.) brought by the steamer America: GREAT BRITAIN.

As Sir Robert Peel was proceeding from his residence in Whitehall up Constitution hill, on the 20th ultime, on horsoback, his horse having shyed at something passing, kicked up his heels and threw Sir Robert over his head, on his face. Although rendered insensible by the fall, Sir Robert retained hold of the reins, and the animal value they checked lost his feating, and fell heave.